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Stuart

Our new racial problem

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Our New Racial Problem

Japanese Immigration and Its Menace

Startling Results of Congressional Inquiry

Why Japan's "Peaceful Penetration" of Continental United States?—Using American Citizenship to Foster Japan's Plans—The Birth Rate as an Agency for Colonization—Control of Lands and Localities in California—Colonization in Other States.

18.01.1. Aug. 14, 22,

OUR NEW RACIAL PROBLEM

REFERENCES

	Page
Results of Japanese Immigration.....	2
A Year's Investigation.....	3
Japan's Determination to "Penetrate".....	4
The "Constructive Immigration" Bill.....	4
Increase of Our Japanese Population.....	5
Whites Displaced in Florin District.....	6
The Japanese Birth Rate.....	7
The "Gentlemen's Agreement".....	9
Comparative Results of Exclusion and Agreement.....	9
Evasion of the Agreement.....	10
Laborers Admitted.....	10
Picture Brides.....	11
"Yoshi"—Adopted Children.....	12
Consular Knowledge of Surreptitious Entry.....	13
Japanese Control of the Soil and Markets.....	14
Penetration in Other States.....	15
The Japanese as Citizens.....	16
Their Religion a Bar.....	17
Japanese Discourage Expatriation.....	18
Japanese Do Not Desire Responsible Citizenship.....	19
Arguments in Favor of Japanese Immigration.....	20
A Government Within a Government.....	21
The Remedies Proposed.....	23

IN THE statement made by V. S. McClatchy before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization during its hearings in California in July, 1920, in connection with the subject of Japanese immigration, was included much interesting and startling and therefore unpublished matter casting light on various phases of the problem which is now receiving not only State, but National attention.

From a digest of that statement it appears that the economic question of today will develop into a grave racial problem, unless the proper remedy be at once applied; that the Japanese have determined to colonize favorable sections of the United States, and permanently establish their race in this country; that they openly preach their plans of peaceful penetration, "get more land and beget many children," as the most certain method of accomplishing the purpose; that in so doing they do not contemplate assimilating as American citizens, loyal to the country of their birth or adoption, but plan to serve the ambition of Japan in world subjection as taught in her religion and in her schools; that American-born Japanese on whom we confer citizenship are being trained here and in Japan to use their American citizenship for the glory of the Mikado and the benefit of the Japanese race; that through violations of the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Japanese have increased many fold in this country, while the declared intent of the agreement was to restrict Japanese immigration as the Exclusion Act restricted Chinese immigration; that the Japanese birth rate per thousand in California, now three times that of the whites, exists in face of the fact that the proportion of adult females among the Japanese is less than one-third as great as among the whites; that such birth rate will be very greatly increased if success attends the efforts of the Japanese to bring in a large number of females; that Orientals, largely Japanese, already control, through ownership or lease, one-sixth of the rich irrigated lands of the state, and, in some of the larger counties, have control of a majority acreage of such lands; that the results as to Japanese control already secured in Hawaii, and fast developing in California, are contemplated in other states as shown by preliminary colonization; and that American missionary and church influence is being exerted in behalf of Japanese propaganda and this Japanese program, in the mistaken belief that Japan in return will aid or encourage Christian evangelization of the Japanese here, and in Japan.

The statement, of which the following is a digest, supplements other statements on the subject made during the year preceding by V. S. McClatchy, before the Committees of Congress and in public print, and generally avoids repetition of matter contained in such previous statements.

A copy of this pamphlet mailed to any address on receipt of five 2c stamps; address THE BEE, Sacramento, Cal.

The Japanese Problem Before the House Immigration Committee

The following article contains the important parts of a statement made before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in connection with the subject of Japanese Immigration by V. S. McClatchy, publisher of The Sacramento Bee, at hearings held by the committee in Sacramento, California, on July 13 and 14, 1920. In preparation of the article from the original transcript of the hearing, there have been omitted repetition of facts and deductions, and, so far as seemed desirable, the dialogue with members of the committee which elicited the facts. In this way brevity has been served without impairing the value of the article.

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization:

My first appearance before the House Immigration Committee in connection with the subject of Japanese immigration was in June, 1919—not in person, but by a written statement hurriedly prepared and mailed, at the telegraphed suggestion of the Chairman. The statement was in answer to the claims of Sidney L. Gulick, the most prominent opponent of Japanese exclusion, who asked your committee to approve a certain measure (fathomed by his League for Constructive Immigration Legislation), which proposes to regulate immigration on a percentage basis, and to extend to all Asiatics the same privileges as immigrants and citizens, as are accorded Europeans. In September, 1919, I appeared before the committee personally and made a more comprehensive showing of the grave danger to the Nation threatened by Japanese immigration even under existing conditions.

Statements made by me at that time have been severely criticised both as

to facts and deductions by advocates of the Japanese, and particularly by Mr. Gulick, who has issued and widely circulated, under the authority of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, two leaflets devoted largely to an attempt to discredit those statements.

My present statement before your committee is supplemental to, and should be considered in conjunction with, that previous statement, since it avoids, so far as possible, repetition of matter contained in the other. It is intended to answer conclusively the arguments and statements since put forth by Mr. Gulick and other proponents of Japanese immigration, and contains in addition a mass of valuable and unpublished matter secured, in large part, from Japanese sources. In the preparation of this statement, care has been taken to secure authenticated facts, and to draw deductions which cannot be assailed with justice.

I view the Japanese themselves without prejudice, and do not even suggest that there is involved in the present problem any question of racial inferiority. The problem at present, I insist, is an economic one, due to certain advantages possessed by the Japanese in economic competition, and to their determined utilization of those advantages in securing permanent place for their race in this country through their systematized plan of peaceful penetration.

But I insist also that continuance of existing conditions is developing, and will in time make certain a racial problem of most grave character.

THE PAST YEAR'S INVESTIGATION.
Since my appearance before the committee, nearly a year ago, the Pacific Coast generally has awakened to a realization of the gravity of the situation, and there has been a deal

of investigation, some of it on the part of Eastern newspapers and periodicals. I might mention, in that connection, "The Country Gentleman," which sent Freeman Tilden, a New England writer, to the Pacific Coast to make a special investigation of the problem. In the issues of that periodical of May 1, 8, 15 and 29, 1920, you will find the result of those observations.

Sentiment on the Coast has crystallized. The California State Board of Control, under instructions from the State Legislature, has been securing data for a year past, and has prepared a preliminary report for the Governor. That report has gone to the Secretary of State at Washington and to the public, with a very strong letter from Governor Stephens, calling attention to the facts, to the urgency of the menace which they indicate and urging that the matter be taken up with our friend, Japan, in order that a speedy adjustment, which will preserve the country for the white race and maintain our friendly relations with Japan, may be had.

This report of the Board of Control, with its introductory letter by Governor Stephens, furnishes a comprehensive review of the Japanese problem as presented in California, and is the most convincing document which has been offered, partly because of its official character, and partly because of the fair manner in which the presentation has been made. I cannot too strongly endorse and praise the manner in which that work has been done. That report, as I understand, is before your committee, and I shall refer to it only in instances where it corroborates and substantiates the various matters which I shall place before you.

It is no small gratification to me, who am in certain phases of this

question a pioneer, to see that the various investigations made, official and non-official, not only fully confirm the statements which I had, but honor to make to your committee in September, 1919, but show that the danger is, if anything, greater and more immediate than I represented then.

POINTS ESTABLISHED BY EVIDENCE.

May I ask you to consider carefully, as the facts are developed, how conclusively they establish these points:

1st. The practical impossibility of assimilating the Japanese, or making good and dependable American citizens out of them.

2nd. The determination with which they are bent on making a permanent place for themselves in this country through their methods of peaceful penetration, and notwithstanding any objection we may have thereto.

3d. The hopelessness of any attempt by Americans to meet them in economic competition, or in birth rate.

4th. The certainty that, unless protective measures are at once adopted, they will secure control of the country, first through economic competition, and finally through force of numbers.

5th. The criminal un wisdom of permitting any foreign Nation, however friendly, to be the sole judge of what immigration shall be admitted to our land. That is our present policy with Japan.

6th. The absolute necessity, along the line of self preservation, of applying the same exclusion policy as to Japanese that has been effective for years in regard to Chinese.

7th. The imperative necessity of applying the remedy now, while we can.

Determined to Colonize.

As to the second point, the determination of the Japanese to secure a footing in this country, through peaceful penetration, regardless of our objections thereto, let me ask careful consideration by the committee of Exhibit "Z," extract from the "Sacramento Bee" of October 25, 1919, in which appears a translation

of an article published a few days before in "Shin Sekai," "The New World," a Japanese newspaper of San Francisco. The article is called forth by the opposition in California to Japanese immigration, and increase of Japanese population through "picture brides," etc. Following are a few sentences quoted from the article:

"When we of the Yamato race arise with a mighty resolve, which the Americans' opposition will be as futile as an attempt to sweep the sea with a broom."

"We should advance, and not recede. To stop is to retreat. While we push forward boldly the enemy has no chance to form plans . . . These maxims are suitable for the present situation."

"Even if photograph marriages should be prohibited, we cannot be stopped from leaving our descendants on this American continent. Even if not a single Japanese woman comes, it is not possible to prevent the seed of our great Yamato race from being sown in this American continent by marriages with Americans, with French, with Indians, and with negroes; especially since there already are 100,000 Japanese here, and 5,000 children are born annually."

Supposing we Japanese were prohibited from owning or cultivating the land. . . . If we cannot conveniently do so in California, we shall go to other States and devise some plan. Even the laws of California are not forever unchangeable."

"The day will come when the strength of the Japanese will make a clean sweep of all laws."

"Even the Kaiser's Empire was destroyed when its time came."

"What can Phelan and Inman (leaders of the anti-Japanese movement) . . . do to stop the forward movement of our Yamato race?"

THE "CONSTRUCTIVE IMMIGRATION" BILL.

Let me call to your attention briefly the claims of Sidney Gulick and other friends and proponents of the Japanese, as presented to the American public.

Mr. Gulick, since I first opposed his demands on behalf of Japanese immigration, in June, 1919, has been steadily giving ground, when he found that ground absolutely untenable. He withdrew from his proposed Constructive Immigration Bill, one of several ridiculous provisions to which attention had been called—the grandfather clause, which, by the importation of a few thousand octogenarians who could send for all their blood relatives, would have opened our gates to an unlimited number of Japanese; the student provision, under which any number of laborers could have come over as students, and gone to work at once in our fields, without any power on the part of our Government under the bill to prevent it; the religious persecutee clause, which opened our gates to any one claiming religious persecution. Let me add, that these provisions are also in the bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Dillingham.

These are a few of the "jokers" in the original Immigration Bill under which Mr. Gulick insisted that Japanese immigration would be materially cut down. Under the circumstances, it is not strange that I am forced to question either his good faith, or his intelligence. He is still on the retreat, as noticed in his recent leaflets, but he persists in fighting for what has always been his real objective, though camouflaged carefully in the beginning. I refer to that because it is the objective of all the proponents of the "Constructive" Immigration Bill, and all the opponents of the views which I present—the passage of an Act which will approve Mr. Gulick's so-called "New Oriental Policy," placing Asiatics on the same plane as to immigration and American citizenship as European races, and which, under his percentage basis plan, will admit ten times as many Japanese as Chinese, and a still greater number of Japanese as compared with other Asiatics.

It would also compel us, for each immigrant admitted from France, Holland, Wales or Mexico, to admit the following number from each of

the respective countries named: Germany, 60; Ireland, 30; England, 15; Canada, 15; Russia, 10; Austria, 8; Sweden, 7; Norway, 6; Scotland, 4; Denmark, Hungary and Switzerland, each 2.

"CRITICISM OF PREVIOUS STATEMENTS."

Mr. Gulick says that I use unscientific statistics and sensational exaggerations, and that my statements are so far from the facts that the "argument for the legislative program (against Japanese immigration) falls entirely to pieces." He makes that general charge against my estimate of the Japanese population in California, which becomes an important factor in various phases of the problem. The population cuts a figure in the Japanese birth rate in California and is of importance in connection with statements as to non-assimilability of the Japanese, and as to violations of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

He insists that Japanese own but little land in California, that there is no evidence that Japanese fall to make good citizens, that increase of Japanese population under the Gentlemen's Agreement has been only 55 per cent; that picture brides are not as efficient agents of reproduction as I have represented and that I have exaggerated the proportion of Japanese school children in certain Floridian districts.

He attacks the five plans of the anti-Japanese platform as first proposed by me in June, 1919, and since generally adopted by all enlisted in the movement, and bases his arguments against them, directly or indirectly, on his insistence that my statement of facts and statistics are untrustworthy.

As to each and all of these matters, there is now evidence so complete and so unquestionable in its character as to readily convince any jury of intelligent and unprejudiced and competent investigators. So much of that evidence as may be necessary for the purpose will be laid before your committee.

With the proof now available that

the Japanese population of California is about 100,000, it is evident that such population has been increased about 50,000, most of them laborers, since Japan asked for and secured a Gentlemen's Agreement, because the population prior thereto was less than 50,000, and births less deaths up to last year, when my statement was made, were about 20,000, as stated by Mr. Gulick. It is true that the Japanese population of continental United States is about 150,000 (since Mr. Gulick concedes 50,000 outside of California), and it is true that the

Japanese population of the United States has increased six-fold since 1900, nearly all under the protection of the Gentlemen's Agreement; all of which statements of mine were earnestly denied by Mr. Gulick and apparently disproved by a skillfully selected and plausibly arranged lot of statistics.

With these suggestions and the evidence and statistics which are to follow, I feel that those who have attacked my statements, including Mr. Gulick, are completely answered.

Increase of Japanese Population

Hawaii Already Inundated—Six-fold Increase in Continental United States in 20 Years—In California With Less Than One-Third Proportion of Adult Females the Japanese Have Three Times the Birth Rate of Whites—Whites Forced Out of Selected Districts—Results in Public Schools.

Population is a very important factor in the problem you are to consider. First, as to total Japanese population. The number in Hawaii is concerned between 112,000 and 120,000, out of a total population of all races, say of 250,000. I haven't seen the census figures. These are estimates from the Secretary of the Interior, and the Hawaiian Board of Education and other official sources. But more than 50 per cent of births and more than 50 per cent of new school registrations in Hawaii are Japanese.

The Japanese have already in Hawaii four times as many as the Chinese, or Hawaiians, or Portuguese, or other whites, and within twenty years will cast more votes, as American born citizens, than all other races combined.

In continental United States, outside of California, Sidney Gulick concedes that my estimate of 50,000 Japanese is correct. In California, where I have estimated 100,000—say 25,000 children, 60,000 adult males and 15,000 adult females—Gulick insists that there are not more than 72,000 or 73,000, and on that difference of 30,000

he hangs his argument through several pages of his pamphlets as to a number of different points. These arguments all fall to the ground if I am right and he is wrong; and that has been demonstrated.

Mr. Gulick and others have based their demonstration as to the number of Japanese in California, on the theory that there are none in the State who had not entered legally, and that the population, according to the census of 1910, with allowance for arrivals and departures, and births and deaths, since, as furnished by official statistics, would give the present population. The State Board of Control, in its report, estimating in the same manner, places the total at 87,273, but explains that this estimate makes no allowance for the number who have entered the State surreptitiously. The Japanese Association of America advises the Board of Control that a census recently undertaken by the Japanese, shows 78,628 in the State, and says there are in addition about 5,000 California born Japanese in Japan, who will return here.

It is not generally known that a census taken in California in 1910, by order of the Japanese Government,

showed 53,000 Japanese in this State, while the United States census enumerated only 41,000. This shortage of 12,000 in the data used by the State Board of Control for its estimate of the Japanese population for 1919 as basis, and added births and legal recorded entries, and subtracted deaths and departures, to give the present population would raise its estimate of the present population to 99,000, without illegal entries. From this it would appear that an estimate of the actual Japanese population (including illegal entries) based on mortality tables as hereinafter referred to—of 109,000—is probably not far from correct.

100,000 Japanese in California.

In view of the apparent present desire of the Japanese to conceal their real numbers, the Japanese census of this year cannot be accepted as of much value. In San Diego County, for instance, where the Japanese originally reported 600 residents, a recount by the United States census enumerators disclosed 1,200, as published a few months ago. Too much reliance cannot be placed even upon the final figures of the United States census of 1920, so far as they may indicate the actual Japanese population of California. In making the present and determined effort to conceal their real numbers, and the ease with which, under present conditions and methods, enumeration may be avoided, and the great error conceded in the 1910 census.

Mr. L. E. Ross, Registrar of the Bureau of Vital Statistics of the State Board of Health, gave out on June 7, 1920, his latest figures on population and birth rate in California, which are the basis of the memo by B. of that date. (Exhibit "A.") Mr. Ross' estimate of the total population of the State in 1919 is 3,234,394, and of that number he estimates 96,000 Japanese. He states that this estimate of the Japanese population is based on data secured by the Board of Control, and from the United States census and the Japanese census, and includes those who have illegally entered the State.

While Mr. Ross has thus used 96,000 as his official estimate of the State's Japanese population, he evidently

believes the total to be much higher. In the current number of the State's monthly Health Bulletin, appears an article by him explaining a method which he has developed for estimating the population from the known ratio of males and females and from the established death rate in each sex. Applying this ratio to determine the present percentage of race distribution in the State, on the assumption that the entire population is 3,234,399. If the Japanese (1919), he finds that it gives results as to decrease of Chinese, slight increase of Indians, and material increase of Negroes. In accordance with the known facts. The same process indicates a Japanese population in the State of 109,000.

With the Japanese population of the State thus fixed conservatively at say 100,000, all the estimates which I have made as to present and future conditions in this State, and in this Nation, receive final verification for this was the only factor assailed by Mr. Gulick which I was not in position to establish beyond question.

ESTIMATES OF FUTURE JAPANESE POPULATION.

The tables heretofore presented by me to this committee, indicating the increase of Japanese population in the United States in the future, if existing conditions continue, are now placed beyond criticism. My estimate of the present population, which was one of the factors, has been verified by official authority. The birth rate, as will be found later, has also been verified officially, but it is to be remembered that, in those tables, as a factor indicating natural increase due to births less deaths, is used a number one-half as large as what was then indicated by known instances in certain communities, and apparently confirmed by the birth rate as published by the State Board of Health. The State Board of Health published for 1918 a birth rate of sixty-two for Japanese, and sixteen and a fraction for whites; but that was based on the population which the Japanese then said they had in this State, seventy thousand. The State Board of Health proved to its satisfaction that the

Japanese were mistaken, that their population was then a great deal more, and that their birth rate was therefore proportionately smaller. It must be remembered in connection with the Japanese birth rate in California that the proportion of males to females is four to one, while the proportion of males to females among the whites is one to one. If the Japanese population included females in the same proportion as the whites have, their birth rate would be multiplied by three or four. So that my factor of natural increase under conditions outlined is well below what may be expected.

The tables made by me showed that if the Gulick plan of percentage immigration were adopted, and admissions confined absolutely to "allotments," eliminating all of his exceptions, and the same is true of the Dillingham Bill—the Japanese population of the United States in forty years would be two million; in eighty years, ten million; and in one hundred and forty years, one hundred million.

Under the Gentlemen's Agreement, the increase of Japanese population indicated in these tables would be just as inevitable, but would be accomplished in greater or less time, according to the character and extent of the violations of the agreement by Japan.

THE FLORIN SCHOOL DISTRICT.

When I was before the committee in September, 1919, attention was called to the conditions in the Florin District. I said that in certain sections the Japanese had entirely displaced the whites in some strawberry and grape fields, and that the Japanese children were rapidly supplanting the white children in the schools. Mr. Gulick endeavored to throw discredit upon my statement by publishing total attendance statistics for six school districts around Florin. In four of the districts the great majority of the white children numbered 517, of whom 209 were under 6 years of age, and that there were 530 Japanese, of whom 292 were under 6 years of age.

My statement as to certain sections of the area, which Mr. Gulick thus

consolidates, is entirely true. Three of the school districts in this section are named respectively Enterprise, Sierra and Florin. The Sacramento County Grand Jury, in its report, published May 31, 1920, states that in the Enterprise District, out of forty-six pupils, seventeen are Japanese. In the Sierra District, out of sixty-four pupils, forty are Japanese. The report adds, "There is evidence here of rapid increase of Japanese to the exclusion of the whites."

In the Florin District, out of one hundred and thirty-five pupils, eighty-five are Japanese. The report adds, "So rapidly is the Japanese population growing to the exclusion of the whites that in a year or two all children in school will consist of Japanese. The upper and outgoing grades have the only white enrollment."

The County School Superintendent of Sacramento County reports that in the Florin district there were in the fourth grade in 1918 five Japanese and nine whites, and in 1920 thirteen Japanese and no whites; in the fifth grade there were in 1918 six Japanese and four whites, and in 1920 fourteen Japanese and three whites. At present there are in the first and second grades in this district forty-one Japanese and fifteen whites; in the third and fourth grades, thirty-five Japanese and ten whites; in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, fifteen Japanese and eighteen whites. It is only in the higher grades that at present the whites predominate. All the lower grades in the three districts show a rapid increase in Japanese and an equally rapid decrease in white attendance.

Even the statistics quoted by Mr. Gulick show that in a much larger area—in six districts about Florin—the number of Japanese under 21 already exceed the whites, while among children under 6 years the Japanese exceed the whites nearly 50 per cent. These figures themselves prove the rapid displacement of the whites, the great excess of very young children being peculiarly significant.

THE JAPANESE BIRTH RATE.

The comparative birth rate per thousand of the Japanese becomes a

vital factor in this problem; for, if it be true that though they constitute to-day less than one-thirtieth of the population of the State, their birth rate, notwithstanding the small proportion of females among them, is three times as great as that of the whites, then it is only a question of time when they will outnumber the whites. That it would be true, even if immigration were to cease entirely. Continue to admit immigration, or increase the proportion of Japanese among the males, and the day when the white race in California will be in the minority will be brought much closer. In Hawaii it is now at hand. A continuance of existing conditions will produce in all other States of the Union the result which is looming above the horizon in California.

When it is remembered that this prolific race is unassimilable in the great American melting pot, and inevitable in economic competition with our people, the gravity of the problem is apparent.

The birth rate of the Japanese per thousand of population in California, as given by the State Board of Health for the year 1918, was nearly four times that of the whites; that is to say, sixty-two and a fraction against sixteen and a fraction. When, however, on the population then claimed by the Japanese of only 41,000, the figures of the official estimate of the Board of Health of the Japanese population of 96,000 in the State, the Japanese birth rate per thousand for 1919 becomes, as announced by the board, 46.44 as against 16.59 for all other races in the State, including all whites—that is nearly three to one.

The total births in the State in 1919 were 56,521, and the whites were 51,316; so that there were, other than Japanese, and included in the balance of 747 were all the other races except the whites and the Japanese—50 per cent. These figures themselves prove the rapid displacement of the whites, the great excess of very young children being peculiarly significant.

Mr. Taylor—The Japanese that you

have in California are middle-age, or below, are they not?

Mr. McClatchy—The figures show, Mr. Taylor, that of all the Japanese that came over here in twenty years past, 90 per cent were between 14 and 44 years of age; that is to say, of the mature, of the prolific age.

In Sacramento City the Japanese a year or so ago claimed 2,580 population, and the census of the population now shows 46,000. I am assuming that no less than 60,000 are white. If that is so, the recorded births in 1918 and 1919 would indicate that the Japanese birth rate in Sacramento City is four times that of the whites, provided they have only 2,500 population. If they have 3,000 population, then the birth rate of the Japanese in Sacramento City would be three and a third times that of the whites.

The suggestion is made that this is an unfair comparison, because the Japanese are in the prolific period and we are comparing them with whites who are not all productive. If you will turn to the report of the State Board of Control—page 34, the census of 1910 shows in California 31,281 married white women under 45 years of age. The number of white births was 30,893, therefore the parentage percentage among white women of this age was 9.8. In comparison, then the birth rate of the Japanese secured in the special census of the Japanese Association of America, made in 1919, is as follows: Total married Japanese women in California, 15,211; number of births, 4,378; parentage percentage 28.8, which is three times the parentage percentage of the whites in the corresponding period of life.

The Japanese have been in control in Hawaii for a long time, and their birth rate, as shown by the official figures, is forty-five or fifty or more in the thousand, and that includes, you must remember, a number of old and infirm women. This, taken with the probability that the proportion of females will increase, is the most practical basis for assuming that the Japanese birthrate in California will soon decrease.

Why Japanese Prefer California.

Mr. Siegel—Have you given any thought to the fact that before long Japan will have a large part of Siberia, and that, therefore, the drift will be over there instead of over here?

Mr. McClatchy—The drift will never be to Siberia as long as the Japanese are encouraged, or permitted, to come here. California is the paradise of the Japanese and they settle here in preference to any part of the United States, and in preference to any part of the world. They can make more money, under more favorable conditions, and with less effort, in California than anywhere else, and naturally they come here. And, even if there were a great drift over toward Siberia, it must be remembered that the net increase of population in Japan each year is said to be six or seven hundred thousand. It would take but a very small proportion of that net increase, if permitted to come in here, to inundate us in a comparatively short time. When they have occupied the most desirable portions of California, they will follow a similar policy as to other States. They have already commenced.

Number and Occupation of Immigrants.

Mr. Siegel—What about the report introduced yesterday, showing that a number of Japanese had left this country, from July 1st to June 30th, greater than those that came here?

Mr. McClatchy—I have this suggestion to offer in regard to that phase of the subject: Let me say of arrivals and departures, that we are interested in who is designated in official reports as "immigrant" arrivals and departures; we are not interested in the "non-immigrant" arrivals and departures, since they do not stay here; they are supposed to be tourists, travelers, students, and they come and go. The "immigrant" arrivals are permanent that settle and become a part of the population; it is those in which we are interested.

In view of the enormous increase of Japanese population in Continental United States since 1906, and particularly since the "Gentlemen's

Agreement" was negotiated, it is absurd to make a claim as to departures exceeding arrivals in the aggregate.

Mr. Raker—Mr. McClatchy, can you segregate these arrivals as to occupation?

Mr. McClatchy—You will find in the report of the Commissioner of Immigration for each year a segregation by occupation of all the Japanese and Chinese, and perhaps other races which have entered. May I direct the attention of the Committee to the fact that, in every one of those enumerations, will be found a large number of immigrants classed as laborers. Each year since 1908, according to the official reports, you will find from one to three thousand Japanese laborers have been admitted, which is in direct violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, unless those laborers were previous residents of the United States—and all of them could not have been.

Startling Increase of Japanese Births.

In the report of the Board of Control at page 34 you will find a very striking diagrammatic illustration, Chart 4. That chart, interpreted, shows the high number of Japanese births per hundred registered births in eighteen of the rich agricultural counties of the State for the years from 1910 to 1919, that number being nowhere below ten, and being in certain years above fifteen in eleven of the counties, above twenty in seven, above twenty-five in two, and above thirty in one. That is to say, of the entire number of births in those counties, in some counties, in some years, the Japanese furnished nearly a third, and nowhere less than a tenth, and from a tenth it ran up to a third. And this notwithstanding the great disparity in population between whites and Japanese.

In these eighteen counties the average births of Japanese have risen from 3.2 per cent of the total births in 1910, to 12.3 per cent in 1919; that is to say, their average proportion of the total has quadrupled in the past nine years.

In 1910, the Japanese births represented one out of every forty-four

children born in the State. In 1919, nine years later, the Japanese had one out of every thirteen born in the State. In the eighteen agricultural counties used by the Board of Control in its chart, which has just been considered, the Japanese had one out of every eight children in 1919. In Sacramento County, outside of Sacramento City, the Japanese births in 1919 were 49.7 per cent, of the total births—more, therefore, than the whites, since there were Chinese, Indians, and negroes included in the total.

According to the California school census, the number of Japanese minors in the State in 1919 was 21,611, an increase in the past years of 252 per cent. The Chinese minors numbered 4,805, showing a decrease in the same period of 17.6 per cent. The white minors in that same period increased 18.5 per cent; so that the percentage of increase among the Japanese minors in California during the past nine years, is fourteen times as great as the percentage of increase among the whites.

Permit me to commend to your careful consideration what has happened in Tunisia, in North Africa. Tunisia is a French protectorate. France, many years ago, tried to make it a French colony, and through force of special inducements to French emigrants, in time was gratified to find that the French in the colony exceeded all other Europeans in number. Then, the French Government rested, thinking that its work was well done. They committed, however, a grave blunder. It admitted a number of Italian immigrants. The number was small, and no figure as compared with the resident French population. Possibly the Italians were admitted to do some of the labor which the French preferred not to do. The country labored for the Italians, and did not care the Italians very steadily and rapidly increased in number, while the French slowly decreased. Today, Tunisia, though still a French protectorate, is an Italian colony, in

which the French population cuts very little figure. Let us remember, however, in applying this lesson to our own case, if the time should ever come when this country, because of the number of immigrants ab-

A Gentlemen's Agreement

Japanese Labor Admitted in Quantity and Our Japanese Population Multiplied Notwithstanding the Announced Intent of the Agreement—Japan Decides What Immigrants Shall Be Admitted by Us—Evasions: Laborers, Picture Brides, "Yoshi," Surreptitious Entries—Japan's Knowledge of Acts for Which She Disclaims Responsibility.

The Gentlemen's Agreement is at the bottom of all the present trouble. Mr. Gulick and the Japanese insist that it is a very excellent arrangement, and that its terms have been faithfully kept. The facts, on the contrary, demonstrate that, so far as concerns the interests of this Nation and the declared intent of the Agreement, it is an iniquitous rancement, and its terms have been constantly violated, in letter and in spirit, by Japan, and not properly enforced by this country.

The Agreement was made at Japan's request, rather than have the Exclusion Act made to include the Japanese. It was supposed to secure, so far as concerns Japanese immigration, and through the acts of Japan herself, results similar to those which were secured by the Exclusion Act against the Chinese. Its terms provided that Japan was to prevent the transportation into continental United States of Japanese labor, skilled and unskilled, and she afterwards voluntarily agreed to maintain the same policy as to immigration into Hawaii, the continental United States, the Philippines, Mexico, Canada, etc., opened, however, the direct route from Japan to the United States by permitting Japan exclusive power to determine who is eligible for a passport, certifying in effect that his entrance did not mean the entrance of a laborer.

Gulick says at page four of his pamphlet, "The New Japanese Agita-

tion—1920": "Californians were demanding that the Chinese exclusion laws be applied to Japanese. Japan wished to avoid the humiliation of such an action, and accordingly made an arrangement with the United States to stop all new labor immigration. This is known as the Gentlemen's Agreement. Her faithful observance of that agreement has been sufficiently shown by the writer in another paper.

Surrendering Our Powers to Japanese.
The basic difference between the policies of the United States as to Chinese and Japanese immigration, respectively, is that, in the one case, we retained absolutely the right to decide the admissibility of the applicant; in the other case, we surrendered that right entirely to the other Nation, a blunder on the part of a first-class Power for which there can be no possible excuse.

The following language is from the report of the State Board of Control: "The Gentlemen's Agreement, intended to stop the indirect route of immigrant labor to continental United States through the Hawaiian Islands, the Philippines, Mexico, Canada, etc., opened, however, the direct route from Japan to the United States by permitting Japan exclusive power to determine who is eligible for a passport. A Japanese hence was as a farmer probably cultivates in his own country an area not exceeding

the size of a city lot in America. When he comes here he at once goes to labor on a farm."

Exclusion and Agreement Compared.

The result of the two methods adopted by the United States for the purpose of excluding the Chinese and Japanese, respectively, is shown by the following facts: According to the Board of Control report during a period of a little less than ten years, that is from April 15 1910, to December 31, 1919, the number of Chinese immigrants admitted to the State of California under the Exclusion Act, was 11,914, and the number of emigrants departed was 11,125, a net increase in Chinese immigration of 789 in those nine years. During the same period, under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," Japanese immigrants admitted to the State were 22,196, and the departures 7,110, a net increase in Japanese immigration of 25,086. That is to say, for every Chinaman admitted under the Exclusion Act there were thirty-two Japanese admitted under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which, it was understood, would accomplish in the matter of Japanese immigration the same result as the Exclusion Act does for the Chinese.

Under the Exclusion Act, the Chinese population of continental United States decreased 50 per cent in the twenty years between 1890 and 1910; that is to say, from 72,422 to 36,248. Since 1910 it is estimated there has been a further decrease of 10 per cent. The Japanese, on the same territory, have multiplied six-fold in the twenty years from 1900 to date; that is, from 24,326 to 150,000, which is the present estimated population.

It is true, as Mr. Gulick says, that all of this increase has not been under operation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, but that same territory is not properly chargeable to the Gentlemen's Agreement was induced by the threatened closing of the gates against Japanese immigration on the demand of the Pacific Coast States. The Agreement was adopted in 1907, and, as will be later shown, is probably chargeable with the immigration during 1907 and 1908, though Japan did not put it into operation until

July 1, 1908. The Japanese population of continental United States in 1900 was 24,226, and in 1910 was 72,157, a gain of 47,931. In California, the Japanese population in 1900 was 10,151, and in 1910 was 41,256, a quadruple, an increase of 31,105. The total Japanese immigrant admissions to the United States, including Hawaii, for the ten years, 1901 to 1910, inclusive, were, in round figures, 129,000, while the admissions for the years 1901 to 1906, inclusive, were 77,937. In the absence of exact data on the Japanese population in 1906, I have estimated that if 129,000, total admissions in the ten years, gave an added population in continental United States of 48,000 in round numbers, of which a little over five-eighths came to California, then the total admissions of 77,937 between 1901 and 1906 would have given an added population in continental United States, in round numbers, of 29,000, of which California would have received 18,000; so that it is fair to assume that the Japanese population of California in 1906 was approximately 28,000, and of Continental United States was, say 53,000.

THE AGREEMENT HAS FAILED.

Clearly then, the Gentlemen's Agreement, which was intended to prevent further increase of Japanese labor in this country, has really permitted the increase of our Japanese population three-fold in continental United States, and four fold in the State of California—this on the assumption that the Japanese population of California is over 100,000, as I have already established. And most of the increase is in the ranks of labor.

So then, the Agreement, whether its terms have been carried out in good faith or not, has failed to serve its clearly defined purpose, and, on the contrary, has done, or permitted, the very thing which it was intended to prevent. Therefore, it should be abrogated at once, while at the same time there should be set into force a plan which will accomplish the purpose desired.

VIOLATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT

The Agreement, however, has been constantly and willfully violated and

evaded, sometimes on a large scale. The Agreement was framed in 1907, following lengthy negotiations, and these were induced on Japan's part by an agitation in this country, for some time previous, for exclusion of Japanese, as well as Chinese. While the Agreement was made in 1907, Japan postponed putting it into effect for a year, until July, 1908. In the two fiscal years, 1907 and 1908, while Japan was negotiating the Agreement, and after it had been made, while she deferred putting it into effect, she rushed over 46,029 Japanese immigrants, nearly all laborers, of which number 19,774 entered continental United States.

In other words, Japan asked that our gates be not forcibly closed against her people, promising that she would herself keep them closed. But after she had obtained the concession asked for, she held the gates open for another year and while, under her plea during negotiations, we had failed to close the gates, and while she herself held them open for a year after negotiations had been closed, she rushed through those gates over 46,000 of her people, the greater portion of whom were of that class which she had told us would not be permitted to pass through the gates; and nearly 20,000 of them came into continental United States, for whose particular protection the Agreement was framed.

Politeness might term that act on the part of Japan an evasion, and not a violation of a gentleman's word. Mr. Gulick claims it was a legitimate procedure under the terms of the Agreement's and Agreement's that these 46,000 coming in in 1907 and 1908, or the net increase which they added to the population, should not be charged against the Gentlemen's Agreement. On the contrary, I cannot see in this action of Japan anything but a piece of sharp practice, and insist that 46,000 are properly chargeable against the agreement. This is a question of international ethics, which may well be left for decision to any fair-minded individual.

In 1909 and 1910, immediately after Japan put the Agreement into operation, the total immigrants admitted, included Hawaii, were 3,100

and 2,730, respectively. Since then, the numbers have steadily increased, until the admissions for continental United States alone exceed 10,000 annually.

For the fiscal year ending July 1, 1920, I have figures from Commissioners of Immigration at San Francisco up to June 12, 1920, and at Seattle up to May 31, 1920, for less than the year, showing a total Japanese immigration into continental United States of 10,823. (See Exhibit B.) I have here, in the shape of an exhibit, the distribution of these: Received at the Port of San Francisco, Angel Island, that is, from July 1, 1919, to May 31, 1920: From Japan, males 2,944, females 2,541; from Hawaii, males 89, females 37. At Seattle: Arrivals of the Japanese from July 1, 1919, to May 31, 1920, say eleven months, from Japan, males 3,175, females 1,988; from Canada, males 25, females 14; from Hawaii, no record, insignificant number. These figures, I understand, do not include tourists, students, merchants, etc.

Admission of Laborers.

The Agreement was violated next by Japan sending over a large number of laborers, and numbers of others not classed as laborers, but who came to labor, and who were not prior residents of the United States. In the years 1918 and 1919, the official reports, segregated by occupations, show each year as high as 3,000 laborers admitted, all of whom certainly were not prior residents.

The Board of Control, in its report, calls attention to the fact that during the years 1910 to 1919, there applied for admission to this country 510 Japanese laborers not entitled to passports, and of these all but twenty-five were admitted. There were also 825 admitted who were without proper passports. The board asks, "Why the admission of those not entitled to passports, and those without proper passports?" This is an illustration of the suggestion which I have made earlier, that even within the very limited area in which we could restrict immigration, apparently, our Government has been derelict.

As has been shown already, the

Japanese population of continental United States has increased 96,000 since 1906, and that of California 72,000. Of this increase, a certain portion is due to births less deaths, while the balance is due to those who have entered the country from Japan or Hawaii, legitimately or surreptitiously. The great majority of this increase, who have thus entered in the period named as laborers, as any one knows who is familiar with the occupations of the Japanese now in this country; and every Japanese laborer within this category marks a violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement. In California alone the population of the State has been increased within the period named by admissions, about 50,000, and most of these were, or are, laborers.

Ichihashi, a Japanese member of the faculty of Stanford University, published in 1915 a book on immigration, in which he claimed that the total Japanese population of California, including women and children, was then 55,000; and that of this number 25,000 were farm hands. The greater portion of this 25,000 must have come in from Japan in violation of the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement, since the total Japanese population in California in 1906 was only 28,000.

Mr. Siegel—I understand that a great many aliens enter illegally as sailors, whether from Japan or otherwise, and we have not been successful in getting any of these people back, or shipping them out of the country.

Mr. McClatchy—Let me offer this suggestion: It is a very difficult thing to apprehend the Japanese, while it is not so difficult to apprehend the Chinese. A Chinese must have a certificate showing that he is entitled to be here; the Japanese need not; and, after three and five years, the Japanese are permitted to remain here, even though not legally admitted. So there ought to be a system of registration for Japanese; and any Japanese who cannot show a certificate entitling him to residence here, should be at once deported. At present, the Japanese may exchange

papers, or they may claim three or five years' residence.

"Picture Brides."

The original Japanese immigrants as a rule, did not bring wives with them. Very few of them had wives. In 1900, according to the United States census, the proportion of Japanese females to males in this country was one to twenty-five. Wives were needed in order that the Japanese colonies in this country might rapidly increase, so Japan utilized the plan of the Picture Marriage, and recognized it officially in this category marks a violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement in America who had no wife could acquire one by the simple expedient of sending his photograph over to Japan and having a compliant maiden found who would wed him. The Gentlemen's Agreement recognized the right of each Japanese in this country to bring his wife over from Japan, and his picture bride was given a passport identifying her as his wife, armed with which she entered this country.

In 1910, the proportion of adult females to males in this country among the Japanese had increased to one to seven and thereafter nearly every year the number of females shipped over was in excess of the males, sometimes two to one. They were more necessary at that time, and are now, to the males in the carrying out of Japan's plan of peaceful penetration. The present proportion of females to males in California is estimated at one to four. The Japanese census figures show about one to three and one-half.

That the practice of shipping picture brides was encouraged by the express purpose of aiding Japan's plan of "peaceful penetration" of this country, by increasing the number of resident Japanese and assisting thereby in securing gradual control of certain sections, is apparently verified by the following extract from an editorial published in the "Asahi Shimbun" of the leading newspapers of Tokyo, in commenting on the order abolishing picture marriage:

"As a result of the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, by which our Government restricted emigration to

America, Japanese in America lost the means of increasing their numbers by immigration. But afterwards relief from their difficult position was provided in the permission to send for women as photograph brides. By this it was possible for our unmarried compatriots in America to establish families without taking the trouble to go home to get wives. This had the double advantage that while on one hand it enabled them to enjoy the pleasures of family life, on the other hand it enabled them to escape the cruel persecution of all sorts of anti-Japanese laws by the power of their children who are born with the rights of citizens."

"Educating Girls For Picture Brides."

Further evidence as to the intent which lies behind the importations of "picture brides" into the United States is to be found in the article published in the "Northman," a Swedish publication published in Portland, Oregon, in its issue of June 10th, 1920; the article being composed of extracts from a letter written by Miss Frances Hewitt, who spent six years in Japan teaching English to Japanese school children, and who had long intimate acquaintance with the Japanese in that relation gave her opportunities for acquiring knowledge denied to ordinary tourists, or even residents, in Japan.

"Tourists do not learn that every girl (school girl) is thoroughly drilled in the doctrine that should she become a 'picture bride' in America, or an immigrant to other lands, her loyal duty to her Emperor is to have any children as possible, so that the foreigners' land may become in time a possession of Japan, through the expressed will of a majority of the people." (See Exhibit C.)

END OF PICTURE BRIDES.

During the year 1919, following the publication of my first articles on the subject, public sentiment in this country became so strong against this picture bride feature that Japan, in December, 1919, announced that, after February 25, 1920, she would cease to issue passports to picture brides. Not, however, that everything was done to issue as many pass-

ports as possible during the three months preceding February 25th. The Japanese Consulates at San Francisco and Seattle cabled the necessary certificates for picture brides at a probable cost of \$25 each, and the Japanese Government announced that it would permit brides securing passports prior to February 25th to have until August 25th to embark for America. In consequence, they have been coming over steadily, from 60 to 130 in a single ship, while other travelers have been forced to postpone their journey if accommodations on any ship were insufficient after the picture brides had been taken care of.

Following is a translation from the "Great Northern Daily News," a Japanese newspaper published in Seattle. The article (embodying information from Tokyo) appeared in the issue of June 2nd, 1920: "Photograph brides must go to America by the end of August. The foreign office has sent private (secret) instructions to the responsible authorities at the ports of sailing that this class of brides must be shipped as speedily as possible. Consequently, the hotels at Nagasaki and especially Yokohama, present remarkable spectacles like human whirlpools on account of these brides. The ordinary passengers for America have to postpone their sailings. Twenty per cent of the passengers on every vessel are women, according to the statement of a recent arrival from Japan."

Substitutes For the Bride Plan.

The action of the Japanese Government in refusing further passports to picture brides was taken on the recommendation of the directors of the Japanese Association of America. This action was repudiated by the membership of the Association and by the local Japanese Associations throughout the Coast, and resulted in a fight to turn out the old directorate, and a most vicious attack on Consul General Ohta, at San Francisco, who was held responsible for the director's action. General demand was made upon Japan for withdrawal of the order as to picture brides, and failing to

secure such withdrawal a commission was sent over, and is now in Japan, to induce the Japanese War Department to lengthen the term of visit permitted to Japanese in their native land without being subject to the enforcement of the conscription law, from one month, the present regulation, to six months, so that they might have time to secure wives.

In the Japanese newspaper, "Shin Sekai" of San Francisco, "The New World," of June 9th, Noriyuki Toyama, a delegate to the commission from the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, expresses himself as follows:

"The inability on the part of those whose conscription has been postponed to stay more than thirty days in Japan is a great obstruction to the overseas development of our people."

"The Sacramento Daily News," a Japanese daily newspaper in Sacramento, in its issue of June 29th of this year, declared that Consul General Ohta, when complaint was made to him as to his action in recommending, through the Japanese Association of America, that the granting of passports to picture brides be stopped, said: "In compensation for the abrogation of the photograph marriage, we intend to take steps to secure the passage of a definite number of women under the name of extending the period of conscription." The paper insists that the Consul thereby conveyed the intimation that before enforcement of abrogation of picture bride marriages was announced he had taken the necessary steps with the authorities of the War Office to insure the substitution of some plan which would obtain similar results in the importation of brides. Because the Japanese War Department has declined to reconsider the picture bride order, or, up to this time, to provide some compensatory arrangement, the recall of the Consul General has been demanded by a number of his indignant countrymen in California.

Other subterfuges have been resorted to to maintain the continuance of the supply of picture brides. One

of the plans was to secure the necessary number of women from Hawaii, and a regular business for the purpose was established by a Japanese in Stockton, whose naive advertisement in one of the Japanese newspapers of San Francisco, the "Shin Sekai," ("New World") June 9, 1920, reads as follows: "MARRIAGES MEDIATED—The abrogation of photograph brides is positively nothing to grieve over. We have formed a connection with reliable parties in Hawaii, and will undertake to make all investigations of character and other particulars, and mediate marriage. Applicants should send photographs, personal history, and consular certificate to the undersigned, Furuya, 124 S. Center Street, Stockton, California."

"Yoshi"—Adopted Children.

The Gentlemen's Agreement provided that Japanese already entitled to residence in this country had the right to send back for their wives and children. The Japanese, as a rule, had no wives, so wives were made for them in Japan by the picture bride method. They had no children, so children were provided for them by the "yoshi" plan of adoption. Any Japanese in this country may formally adopt a number of children, men or women, in Japan, younger than himself, and these "yoshi" children after a certain period have the right of entry into this country. The "yoshi" after they arrive here, may, if they desire, divorce themselves from their adopted parents, and then bring over their own blood relatives; and so the flow of Japanese is maintained, notwithstanding our understanding of the agreement.

The "Shin Sekai" in its issue of May 25, 1920, quotes Vice Consul Tanaka, at San Francisco, as saying that between April 1st and May 24th of this year, he had issued eighty certificates for "yoshi." In the report of the Board of Control, mention is made of the fact that the Japanese Consul at Los Angeles reported that out of 176 declarations by Japanese on behalf of relatives coming from Japan, he filed in the

two years preceding, approximately twenty-three were filed in behalf of "yoshi."

It is not improbable that the "yoshi" plan is being used, as it can be used, for the purpose of bringing over more brides, since the picture bride plan is about to be abandoned, because the plan of adoption is used for females as well as for males. Female adopted children are called "yoshi." There is nothing at all to prevent a "yoshi" on entrance into California, divorcing her adopted parent and becoming his bride.

Coming in Over the Border.

It is not thinkable that Japan, through her Consular system and agents, is not fully aware of the manner in which the intent and letter of the Gentlemen's Agreement is being violated by surreptitious entries over the border. Through the various local and district organizations, under control of the Japanese Association of America, with headquarters at San Francisco, which in its turn is entirely directed by the Japanese Consul General at San Francisco, as openly declared by the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco, the "Nichii Bei," she keeps careful tab upon the Japanese in California, all of whom she claims as her citizens, and exacts from them duties and obligations as such.

One of the proofs of her complicity in the matter is found in the recent secret order for a Japanese census in California, as directed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, under order of Premier Hara. (See Exhibit "V"). A correspondent in Los Angeles, writing in the "Shin Sekai," the "New World" of San Francisco, May 19th, says that secret instructions to the Japanese Consul at Los Angeles are to the effect that this registration had been completed on August 31, 1920. The order calls for the most minute details as to the occupation and income of each registrant, but allows the most astonishing latitude as to inaccuracies in the names. This is opposed to all methods and regulations ordinarily exercised by the Japanese Government in such mat-

ters. The order provides that the name by which any registrant is known here, or even his initials, will be sufficient for the purpose of this census. The reason is that a large number of Japanese here are without passports, or only with borrowed passports, and under false names; and there are in addition hundreds of "yoshi" whose family connections have become complicated with that of the adopted parents.

Consular Knowledge of the Situation.

Another proof of Japan's knowledge of the fact that much of the Japanese population of California is here illegally, is found in the procedure under which the Japanese Consulate issues certificates to Japanese residing here who go back to Japan for a visit, intending to return. They have not been obliged in the past to show to the Consulate proof that they came to California originally legally, and in accordance with the terms of the Gentlemen's Agreement. Within the past few weeks because of public criticism, the Consulate has given notice that it would require such evidence in the future.

Still another proof of surreptitious entry across the border and of knowledge thereof on the part of the Japanese Consulate will be found in certain Court proceedings in San Francisco, in February, 1920 (See exhibit "E"). Seventeen "picture brides" were detained at Angel Island on the charge that the bridegrooms to whom they had been consigned had no right to be in the country, having entered surreptitiously, and without passports from Japan.

If that were true the Consulate would be properly chargeable with knowledge of the fact, since each prospective bridegroom in sending back his photograph for acceptance by some Japanese woman, to be selected for him, must accompany it by a certificate from the Japanese Consul at San Francisco, indicating his business, standing, etc. The consulate would therefore know, unless it deliberately failed to inquire, whether

the prospective bridegroom had a right, under the agreement with Japan, to be in this country.

Writ of habeas corpus was sued for on behalf of these picture brides, and they were finally released and turned over to their picture bridegrooms when it was shown that the latter, though they had entered the State surreptitiously, without passports, had been here five years and therefore could not be deported under general immigration regulations.

Evidence of Illegal Entry.

Incontrovertible evidence of the surreptitious entry of Japanese across the border is furnished in the present estimated population of California, which is 100,000 or more. Up to the present time, Sidney Gulick and the Japanese have claimed that the Japanese population of California was from 69,000 to 73,000, and have offered in substantiation figures based on the United States 1910 census, with the record of arrivals and departures, and births and deaths. If their estimates were correct, any excess population in the State over the number claimed by them must have been added by surreptitious entry, or come from other States. As the Japanese population of other States has increased, rather than decreased, conclusion as to surreptitious entry is inevitable.

Again the Board of Control estimates that, assuming there have been no surreptitious entries, the Japanese population of States outside of California has decreased 10,000 since 1910, as indicated by official data. Any one familiar with conditions in Washington, Oregon, and other States which have been colonized by the Japanese, knows that there has been nowhere a decrease, but everywhere a marked increase of Japanese population in the past ten years. And the difference between the Board of Control estimates (assuming them to be correct) and the actual population in these various outside States will indicate with certainty the number of Japanese who have entered surreptitiously.

Still further evidence is found in the report of the Commissioner of Immigration for the year ending June 30, 1919, in which attention is called to the fact that there are 180 miles of California-Mexican frontier to guard, the physical character of which makes it impossible to prevent surreptitious entry even with a large force, while big Japanese fishing fleets ply between American and Mexican waters, providing convenient means of unlawful entry.

Japanese farm laborers in the Imperial Valley on both sides of the border are passing constantly to and fro across the line. The report says that confidential information of unquestionable authenticity shows conclusively that the smuggling of Japanese across the border is carried on successfully, and doubtless to a very large extent.

The Commissioner's report also declares that because of reduction of his force on June 30, 1919, there will probably be an enormous falling off of arrests and "instead of apprehending some 6,000 aliens of all classes and degrees of undesirability, following surreptitious entry, he is only reasonable to assume that many will cross the frontier during the ensuing year with absolute impunity and merge their identity. The report does not make it clear whether the 6,000 come across our 180 miles of State border or across the entire Mexican frontier; nor does it indicate what proportion may be Japanese.

Coming Through Mexico.

Mexico is at this time the most available avenue for the surreptitious entry of Japanese. The gentlemen's Agreement was entered into for the specific purpose of preventing entry of Japanese labor into this country through Hawaii, Mexico, Canada, etc. Mr. Gulick said, in his last pamphlet, "Japan and the Gentlemen's Agreement": "For many years Japan has been voluntarily restricting immigration to Mexico, applying to that land, also the general principles of the Gentlemen's Agreement." That may or may not be true, but as a matter of fact Japan is sending a great num-

ber over every month. The Fall Senate Committee of Congress, which has been investigating Mexican conditions, says that it is reliably reported that Japanese liners arrive at the port of Salina Cruz every ten days and that Japanese are entering through that port in increasing numbers, and that they practically control commerce on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

Tehuantepec is a far cry from the American border; but a press news item of May 1919, 1920, from the City of Mexico, published generally throughout the United States (see Exhibit "C"), called attention to the fact

that the newspapers of that city are very much concerned as to the increased immigration of Japanese into Mexico; that the arrivals during the month of March had been 5,000, and that the total for the year was expected to be 100,000; and that most of the arrivals were going to the agricultural districts of Sonora and Aguascalientes.

Sonora is on the American border. It is generally conceded that no Japanese stays in Mexico when he can cross into the United States.

Control of the Soil

Alien Control of Soil, Products and Markets, a Menace to the Nation—A Basic Factor of Japanese "Peaceful Penetration"—They Already Control Most of the Rich Irrigated Acreage in Several Large Counties of California—Organization for Control of Markets—Colonization in Other States—Fisheries.

As a result of the advantages possessed by the Japanese in economic competition, they are gradually securing control of the soil in the richest agricultural districts of the State, control of the products thereof, and control of the markets. If a unified interest like the Japanese can thus obtain control of the soil and its products in this country, even while their numbers be comparatively few, they will be able to secure in time a strangle hold on the economic development of the country itself.

What they already have accomplished in California is thus briefly indicated.

Their apologists insist that the Japanese have only reclaimed or improved land which was practically worthless and unoccupied. That is true in a few instances only. The Japanese are concentrating their efforts in securing control of the richest lands of the State, following always their clearly defined policy of penetration by concentrating effort in localities and occupations where least efforts will produce greatest results. They have only say 100,000 in our total State population of 3,400,000, but

nearly all that hundred thousand is found in 29 rich agricultural counties out of the State's total of 58. Most of it is found in 18 of those counties, and 75 per cent, if births be a fair indication of population, is settled in seven counties, and concentrated in the most favored portions of those seven counties. May I ask this committee to bear in mind that this is not a weak solution of a hundred thousand Japanese in 3,400,000 whites; it is a concentrated essence placed in a few special spots, and for a special purpose.

Sidney Gulick—and reference to Sidney Gulick applies equally to the Japanese in general—belittles the control of the soil by the Japanese, saying that they own a comparatively small acreage; but the fact is that the Japanese control of the land by lease is practically as bad for State interests as control by ownership, since the lease establishes Japanese residence and control, and drives off the whites. Short term lease is as bad in effect as long term, since at the end of the short lease the injury has been done to the community, and the owner must either renew the lease

to Japanese or let the land lie unproductive.

Placer County and other districts of the State, which the Japanese claim to have made, were highly developed before the first Japanese came into these districts.

That was so also in Florin. In my memory before the Japanese were there, Florin strawberries were shipped in carload lots as far East as the Missouri River. In those days "The Sacramento Bee" had a little newspaper route there. A woman in a sulky distributed the paper to about sixty subscribers through the strawberry fields. Each family had a five state acre piece, not more than that, and that route meandered through those strawberry fields. The Japanese came in time, and they worked, and then they leased and then they bought, and the whites left, and in a few years there wasn't a single subscriber for that route. The whites had melted away from that particular district.

Securing the Rich Lands.

It has been claimed that the Japanese have been cultivating the lands which are worthless. Now, the rich lands are the irrigated lands. The fact that they are irrigated is proof of their richness. The report of the Board of Control showed that in this State there are 3,339,500 acres of irrigated land. On December 31, 1919, Orientals occupied 62,752 acres of this total, in the proportion of six acres by Japanese, one by Chinese, and one by Hindus. Of the total acreage, 534,808 acres were held under lease on crop contract, and 88,944 acres owned in fee. A large portion of the acreage held in fee has been acquired by Japanese since 1913, through violation or evasion of the Alien Land Law. The Japanese Agricultural Association of California states that the acreage occupied by Japanese in 1909 was 83,252, and in 1919 the Association quotes the acreage as 427,025, an increase in the ten years of 400 per cent. The discrepancy as to acreage occupied in 1919 between these figures and those of the Board of Control may be due to a difference in the time of year that

their respective figures were gathered; or it may be due to the fact that the Board of Control figures include acreage secretly owned by Japanese through white agents. The same Japanese Association indicates the valuation of Japanese crops in 1909 as \$6,235,856, and in 1918 as \$67,145,730; the 1919 crop being more than ten times the value of the 1909 crop.

The following quotations are from the Board of Control's report: "It is interesting to note that in some of the richest counties of the State, Orientals occupy a total acreage ranging from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the total irrigated area; notably, San Joaquin County, with a total of 130,000 irrigated acres with Orientals occupying 95,820 acres; Colusa, with a total of 70,000 acres, with Orientals occupying 51,105 acres; Placer County, with 18,000 total, Orientals occupying 16,321 acres; and Sacramento County, 80,000, Orientals occupying 64,800."

In general truck farming, small fruits and berries, the Japanese have for some years produced most of the crop, the proportion in many products running up to as high as 85 per cent and 90 per cent of the total crop. Two years ago, through control of the strawberry market, the Japanese were enabled to raise the price to such an extent that the public and the commission dealers united in a refusal to buy.

Organizing For "Market Control."

The Japanese are now organizing throughout the State, on recommendation of the Japanese Agricultural Society of Central California, for the purpose of controlling the markets in products raised by them. An editorial in "Shin Sekai," the Japanese "New World" of San Francisco, June 2, 1920, advises its readers that the fears formerly expressed by it as to an organization of this character being opposed to the Anti-Trust Law have been dissipated, but the bill recently passed by Congress excepting farmers and stock raisers from the operation of such a law. "Hence," says the editorial, "farmers can now combine to control the marketing of their output. We rejoice in this opportunity on behalf of the Japanese

farmers for whom co-operation is so necessary."

The leaders among the Japanese fully recognize the importance to them of possession of the land in their plan for peaceful penetration and ultimate control in this country. An editorial in the "Nichi Bei" of San Francisco, June 5, 1920, urges the Japanese to establish co-operation in gambling houses and invest it in land. It tells them "land is the very life of the Japanese race in California. Land is the foundation of our development."

You have in the report of the Board of Control some very illuminating charts showing the manner in which the Japanese ownership and leases have dotted and spotted the rich agricultural lands of this State, and it is important to know that the lands which are thus spotted are the richest lands of the State.

Various articles concerning the work of Japanese in securing control of land and markets in California, are included in Exhibit "D."

Japanese Penetration in Other States.

What the Japanese are fast accomplishing in California in the way of peaceful penetration and control of land, they are attempting elsewhere in the United States, although knowledge thereof has not reached the people of the country generally.

In Washington and in Oregon, the Committee's investigations will secure knowledge of the extent of this penetration. Seattle in Washington, and the Hood River Apple District in Oregon, are notable examples. In other States in which the Committee will perhaps not have opportunity to investigate at this time, there are sufficient proofs of the determination of the Japanese to get a foothold in any locality where conditions of soil and climate and environment will make their plans for colonization and penetration easy or profitable.

For instance, in Colorado they have already secured control of the Rocky Ford Melon District. The "Country Gentleman" of August 18, 1919, gives full account of how that was accomplished. They are now running over

into the adjoining State of Nebraska and according to Japanese authorities have already in those two States about 5,000 colonists, who farm on the average eighty acres of leased land to the family. The Christian churches have done what they could to allay alarm and uneasiness on the part of the white population of Colorado and Nebraska and make penetration of the Japanese colonists easier. See in this connection in Exhibit "X," extract from "Shin Sekai" of July 21, 1920.

In Florida, according to item published in "Shin Sekai" of July 20, 1920. (See Exhibit "X") 200 Japanese settlers have purchased holdings averaging 150 acres each, in the northern part of the State, and through publicity are encouraging the more of their countrymen to follow their example.

In Texas, as indicated by a news item in the Sacramento Bee, reproduced in Exhibit "X," the Japanese have purchased 1,000 acres of good irrigated land in the Rio Grande Valley, near El Paso, which is to be planted in cotton. This adjoining district in New Mexico, in Dona Ana County, where the Japanese are already established in the cantaloupe industry. In El Paso, the Japanese are interested in a large market house and refrigerating plant about to be constructed, which will handle their products from the lands in the Rio Grande Valley and the adjoining State of New Mexico. In Eastern Texas, in Orange County, there is a Japanese rice colony of over 3,000 acres.

The Japanese in Fisheries.

The Japanese have invaded and taken practical control of some of the important fisheries of the State, as they have secured control of the various agricultural activities. In the southern part of California, it has been represented to the Federal Government that, in violation of the Federal statutes, the greater portion of the fishing fleet centered about San Pedro is owned and managed by Japanese to the number of 2,000 or more.

Complaint has been made recently as to this situation, but it develops that while the operation of these fish-

ing boats by aliens is a clear violation of the Federal statute, through a curious omission in the law, there is no penalty provided under which the law can be enforced.

This matter has been called to the attention of the Administration, and of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, through Hon. C. F. Curry, from California, and it will be introduced by Chairman Green of the committee named. House Resolution 12102, there has been inserted a provision, Section 5, which it is assumed will remedy the defect in the law. This section provides a penalty of \$500 at every port of arrival for any vessel engaged in the American fisheries and not documented as a vessel of the United States, it being understood that vessels owned or manned by aliens cannot be so documented.

The State of Washington has protected itself against a similar situation by passing a law under the provisions of which vessels engaged in

the fisheries within the State's jurisdiction must be owned and manned by those who are citizens of the United States, or who have declared their intention to become such.

To leave the fisheries in practical control of the Japanese creates a very serious situation. First, they assist materially in smuggling Japanese into California from Mexico. Second, they place in the hands of aliens an adjunct to the Navy which was found most valuable to Great Britain in the recent war. Third, the fisheries in the Territory of Hawaii are an absolute Japanese monopoly, and in the event of war with Japan, the sampans and power boats of the Japanese, which are sea-going vessels, could very easily secure from Japanese cruisers or transports arms and munitions and land them on the coast of Oahu, the principal island, on which are located our defenses, and therewith arm the Japanese population, the greater portion of whose adult male members are trained soldiers.

The Japanese As Citizens

A Dangerous Experiment—The Japanese Are Non-assimilable—They Cannot, May Not and Will Not Make Good American Citizens—Conclusive Proofs From Japanese Authorities—The Missionary Delusion That Christianization Will Transform Them—Japanese Claims All American-born Japanese and Theirs For Japan's Service.

There are three principal elements in the menace threatened by Japanese immigration. They are:

First, the non-assimilability of the Japanese race; the practical impossibility of making out of such material valuable and loyal American citizens.

Second, their unusually large birth rate per thousand population, already shown in California to be three times that of the whites, notwithstanding that the estimated proportion of adult females to males among the Japanese is only 3 to 4, while among the whites it is, say, 1 to 1.

Third, The great advantages which

they possess in economic competition, partly due to racial characteristics, and partly to standards of living, organization, direction and aid from their Government. These advantages make it hopeless for American whites to compete with them.

It should be evident that we cannot encourage or permit in our midst the development of an alien element possessing the characteristics without inviting certain disaster to our institutions and to the Nation itself. The evidence which will be presented on each of these points is incontrovertible, and the conclusions inevitable.

NON-ASSIMILABILITY OF JAPANESE.

As to non-assimilability, the first element mentioned in the Japanese menace, there are three main reasons why it is useless to attempt the making of good American citizens out of Japanese material, save of course in exceptional individual instances. The Japanese cannot, may not and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship:

First, the Japanese CANNOT assimilate and make good citizens, because their racial characteristics, heredity and religion prevent.

Second, the Japanese MAY NOT assimilate and make good citizens, because their Government, claiming all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens, does not permit.

Third, the Japanese WILL NOT assimilate and make good citizens, in the mass, with opportunity offered, and even when born here, they have shown not only no disposition to do so, but pronounced antagonism.

JAPANESE MAINTAIN RACIAL PURITY.

There can be no effective assimilation of Japanese within the marriage. It is perhaps not desirable for the good of either race that there should be inter-marriage between whites and Japanese. The laws of some States forbid such marriages but even where such marriages are permitted and encouraged, the Japanese themselves will not take advantage thereof. That is best demonstrated in Hawaii, where there is a great commingling of races; but the Japanese, comprising nearly half of the entire population of the Territory, and steadily increasing in number, maintain in wonderful degree their racial purity. With a population of 112,000 or more the Japanese in Hawaii in five years have contracted marriages with other races, according to the report made this year by the Survey Commission—at the request of the Commissioner of Education, at Washington-Bulletin No. 16-1920—follows: Thirty-two Japanese men and four women were married to Hawaiians, a few Japanese men to Portuguese women, one Japanese man to

an American woman and a few Japanese women to Chinese and Koreans.

The Mikado—the Japanese God.
The Japanese hold that their Mikado is the one living God to whom they owe their very existence, and therefore all obedience. It is not possible to make of an individual in whom that belief is deeply and firmly grounded an American citizen who can be relied upon in a crisis. This worship of the Mikado (Mikadoism, or Shintoism) is a part of the education of each child in Japan, and school children are by Government decree forced to worship at the Shinto shrines.

Buddhism, which is tolerated in Japan, has Shintoism grafted onto it. Baron Goto, a prominent Japanese statesman, at a gathering of Foreign Board Mission Secretaries, at New York, in June, 1913, said he was almost persuaded to embrace Christianity; that with slight modifications he could do so.

It is upon such suggestions as this American missionaries hang their hopes that by placating the Japanese in various ways, and more particularly as to their demands for free immigration and citizenship privileges in the United States, the evangelization of the Japanese, both in Japan and in this country, will be made very much easier through Japanese Government suggestion or influence.

The modification necessary or desirable in Christianity before Baron Goto would embrace it is probably a modification similar to that which has been made in Buddhism; that is to say, the incorporation therein of Mikadoism, or Shintoism, which recognizes the god Shinto as the Mikado, and insures thereby the loyalty of the individual Japanese to the Japanese Empire, through the Mikado.

Professor Kunitake Kume, in "Fifty Years of New Japan," the English version of which was revised and authorized for publication by Baron Shigenobu Okuma, "the grand old man of Japan," said: "He (the Mikado) is regarded as a living Kami (God), loved and revered by the Nation above all things on earth, and himself loving and protecting the nation,

who are deemed sons of Kami Nagara, and are entrusted to his care by the Kami. This mutual understanding obtains between every individual Japanese and the Emperor."

Why Japanese Should Rule the Earth!

It is declared in the book, "The Political Development of Japan," written by Etsujiro Ueyehara, member of the Imperial Japanese Parliament, and head of one of the war commissions from Japan to the United States in 1917, that "The Emperor of Japan can say without hesitation, 'L'etat c'est moi.' I am the State, not because he can subject the people to his will, but because he is morally so recognized. Theoretically, he is the center of the State, as well as the State itself. He is to the Japanese mind the Supreme Being in the cosmos of Japan, as God is in the universe to the pantheistic philosopher."

In the Japan "Advertiser" of May 9, 1919, there appeared a translation of an editorial in the "Niroku Shimbun" of Tokio, from which the following quotation is made:

"The Imperial Family of Japan is as worthy of respect as is God. The Imperial Family of Japan numbers not only of her sixty millions, but of all mankind on earth. In the eyes of the Imperial Family all races are one and the same. It is above all racial considerations. All human disputes therefore may be settled in accordance with its immanent justice. The League of Nations, proposed to save mankind from the horrors of war, can only attain its real object by placing the Imperial Family of Japan at its head. For, to attain its object, the League must have a strong punitive force of super-national and super-racial character, and this force can only be found in the Imperial Family of Japan."

From a writer long resident in Japan, and fully conversant with its language, its religion and its people, is quoted the following statement on Mikadoism: "Mikadoism, or Emperor worship, is the sheet anchor of patriotic fervor in Japan—the soul of the life politic. The vast majority of the people have no other religion. It is not a relic of bygone days, but the

very heart of present-day Japan."

In the Los Angeles "Examiner" of June 1st, 1920, appears a series of resolutions adopted the preceding day at a picnic held in Elysian Park by the Japanese Christian Laymen, at which Seimatsu Kimura, the Japanese "Billy" Sunday, was present. These resolutions recite the belief of these Christianized Japanese that Japanese cannot make good American citizens unless they become Christians. While the reason for this statement is not given, it is clearly to be found in the Japanese worship of the Mikado. They also declared their intention of giving their children only an American education, and their willingness to be regarded in consequence by their fellow countrymen as a forsaken band.

A Dangerous Evangelical Experiment.

The plea of Sidney Gulick, and a number of his Christian friends, that we make citizens of the Japanese and then trust to making good citizens of them by Christianizing them, advocates an experiment dangerous in the extreme, doubtful even as to a superficial change in religion, and certain to end in disaster. There are 150,000 Japanese in continental United States, and it is estimated that but 4,000 of them have embraced Christianity, although between 30,000 and 40,000 of those now living were born in this country, and although 70,000 of them have been here from ten to twenty years. It may be assumed that if any large body of Japanese become Christians, their brand of Christianity will have been modified by Shintoism, as is their brand of Buddhism.

In addition, it may be remembered that a few years ago Japan sent a commission over to this country for the express purpose of ascertaining the benefits conferred upon us by Christianity; for Japan, if she sees a good thing in other nations, is quite willing to adopt it herself. The report of the mission was to the effect that, judging by the effects of Christianity on our people, we would not be a desirable belief for Japan to embrace.

The principal opponents, in this country, to Japanese exclusion are the American churches and church organizations interested in the evangelization of the Japanese. Appar-

ently, they assume, aside from their claim that a Japanese can be made a good American by Christianization, that if this country will yield to the demands now made by Japan for the same privileges as immigrants and citizens for their people as are extended to Europeans, the work of the missionaries in Christianizing Japan, both in this country and in Japan, will be materially promoted through Japan's friendly offices.

Japan Really Unfriendly to Christianity.

The attitude of Japan as to Christianization of her people has been sufficiently indicated within the past year through her action in Korea, where the Korean Christians were subjected to the greatest persecution and torture, the evident attempt being made, as claimed by some writers, to exterminate the Korean Christians, on the theory that their Christianity imbued them with liberal ideas more or less dangerous to the maintenance of Japan's power.

The attitude of the Japanese government toward practical evangelization in Japan, itself, is well illustrated by the manner in which the institutions established by various missionary organizations have been confiscated for government use, either directly or through enforced incorporation as Japanese institutions. The following extract from a letter from Guy M. Walker to the New York Evening Sun, dated July 27th, 1920, gives detailed information as to Japan's act in connection with this policy:

"There is another thing concerning what has happened in Japan in the last few years on which our people should be enlightened, and that is the confiscation by the Japanese of all mission property created by the millions of money sent by our religious people to Japan for the Christianization of the Japanese. In order to prevent the confiscation of all of the mission property, there was a few years ago, a feverish and desperate effort on the part of many denominations to organize Japanese churches such as the Methodist-Japanese, the Japanese Presbyterian Church and

the Japanese Baptist Church, and a hurried transfer by the American missionary societies to these Japanese churches of the missions schools and properties, in order to prevent them from being seized and confiscated by the Japanese Government, or of being appropriated by the Japanese trustees, in whose name they stood. Many of these properties have since been converted into secular or pagan institutions, and the Japanese have cut out everything connected with the Christian propaganda, although as they were created by Christian money from America, if these facts were known, as they should be, I am quite sure that no sensible American would ever give one penny further for the education or civilization of the Japanese."

In the "Japan Advertiser" (Tokyo) of June 20th, 1920, is a lengthy article by Charles A. Perry, calling attention to the little interest shown by Japanese in the matter of Christianization as indicated by the small number of Christian converts in Hamamatsu, a manufacturing town in Japan, of about 19,000 inhabitants, and the high cost of their conversion. He gives statistics and experiences from the various missionaries and missions, and quotes Rev. W. A. Richards, one of the resident missionaries to the effect that the baptized converts of all sects by the various missions on an average cost ¥300 per head (a yen is worth 50 cents). Mr. Perry adds: "I am inclined, though without precise figures, to think that this is an underestimate." Mr. Richards' own three converts (secured in four years) work out at ¥4,000 per head."

The inherent incapacity of the Japanese for assimilation, their religious belief and ideals, bred in them for generations and taught to them the world over, which foreign birth and foreign residence does not modify, create a permanent and insurmountable barrier between them and that real American citizenship which would be of value, and not a grave menace, to this Nation. They cannot be transmuted into good American citizens.

Japan Opposes Expatriation of Her Citizens.

The second point made by me against the possibility of making American citizens out of Japanese is based upon my statement that Japan does not permit it. We come now to the curious and inconsistent policy of our Government as to dual citizenship, in the case of the Japanese. We recognize as an American citizen and extend all rights and privileges as such to any one born under the American flag, including, of course, the Japanese. Japan, on the other hand, rigidly insists that every Japanese, no matter where his parents were born, and no matter what nation may have conferred citizenship on him, with or without his request, is a Japanese citizen, and must perform all the obligations as such.

Every Japanese born here, even if his forebears for generations were born here, but had not been permitted to expatriate, is subject to orders from Japan; is kept track of through the Japanese Consulate, and other organizations, and is subject to call for military duty. Authorities on international law agree that, since the United States recognizes citizenship on the Japanese born here, unasked and with full knowledge of Japan's claims, we must, in the event of war, recognize those Japanese as the citizens of Japan.

We are thus conferring upon the Japanese born here all the rights and privileges of citizenship, without any of the obligations; and we are certainly breeding in our midst a class of American citizens whose hands, we know in advance, must be against us in possible case of war.

The Japan Parliament passed, some years ago, and the Emperor afterwards promulgated, what is known as the "Nationality Option Law," which is supposed to permit a Japanese born on foreign soil to expatriate himself. Examination of its terms and operation shows it does nothing of the kind. Under it, a Japanese born on foreign soil may, between the ages of 15 and 17, and with the consent of his guardians,

apply to the Japanese Government for permission to renounce his allegiance. Under the circumstances that application is not often made, but, if made, it has no effect unless permission be granted by the Japanese Government. The Board of Control report quotes the Japanese Vice Consul Ishii, at San Francisco, to the effect that not to exceed a dozen American born children have signed the "Declaration of Losing Nationality," and that, so far as learned, permit has not been granted by the Japanese Government in any of these cases.

How Japan Trains Her American-Born.

Japan not only claims as her citizens all Japanese born on American soil, but she takes great care that they grow up really as Japanese citizens, with all the ideals and loyalty of the race, untouched by the notions prevalent in this country, which would weaken that loyalty.

The Japanese children born under the American flag are compelled to attend Japanese schools, usually after the public school hours, where they are taught the language, the ideals, and the religion of Japan, with its basis of Mikado worship. Here they are taught by Japanese teachers, usually Buddhist priests, who frequently speak no English, and who almost invariably know nothing of American citizenship. The text books used are the Mombusho series issued under the authority of the Department of Education at Tokio. These schools are located wherever there are Japanese communities, and teachers in the American public schools testify that the Japanese children frequently are studying their Japanese lessons in their public school hours.

In Hawaii, this system of Japanese schools and its effect in preventing any chance of inculcating the principles of American citizenship in the Japanese upon whom we confer such citizenship, caused such widespread comment that the Hawaiian Legislature in 1919 attempted to pass a law whereby the teachers in foreign language schools must know sufficient English and enough American

history and civics to ground the pupils in the principles of American citizenship. That bill was defeated on the demand, and through the influence, of the Japanese, who said its effect would be to destroy their schools.

Now, the Survey Commission appointed by the Commissioner of Education of the United States, reports in Bulletin No. 16 of 1920, that these Hawaiian-Japanese schools, if not American, are at least not pro-American, and recommends that all foreign language schools in the Hawaiian Islands should be abolished, except for foreign children who can never become American citizens.

Not Disposed to Become Real Americans.

It has been shown already why the Japanese cannot make good citizens, because of their religion and heredity and non-assimilability; it has been shown also why they may not make good citizens, because the laws of Japan, efficiently and rigorously administered in the United States, as well as in Japan, do not permit them; it is equally true that they will not make good citizens, and that the evidence of the acts of those who have resided under the American flag for many years is conclusive on this point.

In Hawaii, where their numbers make them independent, and where they are now in a position to practically control the Territory, the Japanese form a separate, alien community, observing the laws, customs, and the ideals of Japan; using the Japanese language, both in their business and in their schools, and bringing up their children to be, not American but Japanese citizens, with all that loyalty to the Mikado which is a part of the Japanese religion.

The statement made as to Japanese policy in Hawaii is equally true of the Japanese in California, though, because of differences in conditions, the evidence has not forced itself as yet so strongly on our attention. The Japanese schools are found in every Japanese community in California where there are enough children to support them.

The Japanese, however, are not content to depend upon education of their American-born children in this country in order to make them loyal subjects of the Mikado. In the report of the Japanese Association of America, concerning its California census, as quoted by the State Board of Control, appears the statement that there are in Japan at this time about 5,000 California-born Japanese. That statement carries little significance to most people. It means, however, that there are at this time 5,000 of the Japanese born in California, that is to say, 20 per cent of California's Japanese minors, upon whom the United States conferred citizenship, who are now back in Japan being thoroughly instructed in the religion and ideals of Japan; so that when they return here they may serve, not as American citizens, but as loyal subjects of the Mikado, to do his will and serve his interests.

The Immigration Commissioners of San Francisco and Seattle testify to this custom of many California Japanese to send their children back to Japan when between 8 and 10 years old and bring them back when they are 17 to 19.

The Japanese writer, C. Kondo, Chief Secretary of the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, in a very able article published in the "Nichi Bei" of January 8th and 9th of this year, frankly acknowledges that the Japanese of California show no disposition to Americanize themselves, and that to this fact largely is due the antagonism which they have created. He warns them that this antagonism will increase rather than disappear, and suggests that they should move to the Southern States, where their characteristics are as yet unknown. He adds, however, that if they pursue the same methods there that they have in California, they will encounter the same bitter experience that they are now undergoing here.

Consider Themselves a Superior Race.

One reason why the Japanese show no disposition to Americanize themselves lies in their belief, passed down through generations, grounded

into them in their schools, and a part of their religion (for is not their Nation the only one on earth whose ruler is the living God?), that they are superior to any race on earth. Why, then, should they be willing to expatriate themselves and become citizens of an inferior Nation?

The cockiness which many have noticed in the Japanese under certain conditions and on certain occasions, their pride and sensitiveness, their intolerance of criticism or opposition, are all due to this inbred and firmly established belief in their superiority. In exhibit "AA" appears an article from the issue of June 10, 1920, of "The Northman," a Swedish publication printed at Portland, Oregon, in which Miss Frances Hewitt, who spent six years in Japan teaching English to Japanese school children in the public schools there, says: "Neither do the tourists learn that these children are taught that they, being children of the Son of Heaven, are superior to all foreigners, and that their natural destiny is to be to bring all other peoples to subjection."

Under such conditions, it is not only probable but practically certain that the majority of Japanese who are now endeavoring to secure for themselves the privileges of American citizenship, are doing it not from any desire to help the American Nation, or to become an integral part of it, but that they may better serve Japan and the Mikado. A striking evidence of this is found in an article which appeared in the "Daily News," a Japanese newspaper, February 1, 1920, a translation of which appears in Exhibit "K" herewith. This article calls the attention of the Japanese to the dual citizenship situation, and suggests that for the present they cease registering births with the Japanese authorities, but register only with the American authorities. They are advised that they need not fear thereby to lose Japanese citizenship, because at any time they can make good their claim to it by proof of birth, etc. The article closes

with the statement that the American citizenship can be used for furthering the purposes of Japan in this country. Following is part of the article:

"It is urged then when an American citizen (by birth) the opportunity comes for them to reinforce the Japanese residence in America, who have no citizenship rights, they must, on behalf of His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, become the loyal protectors of the race."

The following is a portion of a statement made on his return to San Francisco from Japan by Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President Emeritus of the University of California (Exhibit "T"), and republished in the "Japan Advertiser" of Tokyo on May 25, 1920. Dr. Wheeler had gone to Japan as a member of an unofficial mission headed by Mr. Wallace M. Alexander of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to discuss with leading Japanese the feasibility of a friendly understanding between the two countries. "The two civilizations cannot mingle, and the leaders in Japan agree that it is not well to attempt to amalgamate them. They cannot and will not understand our part of the world he is, a subject who always feels himself a subject of the Emperor, with the Imperial Government backing him, much as a feudal retainer had the support of his overlord in exchange for an undivided loyalty."

Arguments for Immigration. I have heard but three arguments in favor of Japanese immigration—or rather all pleas may be reduced to these three:

First. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man plea. The Japanese want to come here because this is a better place than Japan for them, and we ought to welcome them.

That plea is a legitimate one within limits. It ceases to have force when you invite destruction for yourself and your posterity and your Nation in order to give some one something which he does not need, but which he wants. A Nation has no

right to disregard the first principles of self-preservation.

Second. It is declared we cannot do without Japanese labor; that with exclusion enforced, lands will lie idle, and productivity decline.

So far as our small farmers are concerned, the evidence is that they get no benefit from Japanese labor. The Japanese work lands on lease, and those who work for wages work for their countrymen, usually on the co-operative plan, and not for whites. The Board of Control says that in California there are fewer Japanese working for white men than white men working for Japanese.

It is the absentee landlord, the large land holder, who wishes to reside in the city, who profits through the presence of Japanese, by leasing to them.

We can afford to have less profit made by these land owners—we can even afford, if necessary, to see our total production decrease, rather than promote the control of this country by Japanese. Besides, the future exclusion of Japanese will not decrease their number here. Their birth rate will prevent that.

There are many experienced California farmers, agriculturists, and orchardists who insist that activities in the agricultural sections of the State can be continued successfully without Japanese labor, and who themselves furnish proof thereof in the management of their own properties. They do it usually by providing conditions which will offer attractions to help of this character to remain, particularly where they have families. For the picking of fruit a number report that they find no difficulty in securing families and girls, providing the necessary conditions are furnished. Some use Mexican labor, which has to be handled courteously and fairly, but is declared to be excellent labor if so handled, particularly if the laborers have their families with them, and a small house with an adjacent piece of ground is provided for each.

As indicating the sentiment of California farmers on this subject, it is sufficient to say that the California

Farm Bureau Federation, representing an affiliation of thirty-three County Farm Bureaus, covering 85 per cent of the agricultural area of the State, with a membership of 20,000, voted by referendum in July, 1920, on a long list of topics of importance to the California farmer. The result as to matters connected with Japanese was as follows: Against Japanese immigration, 12 to 1; against leasing land to Japanese, 12 to 1; against ownership of land by Japanese, 40 to 1; against Japanese as bonded labor, 7 to 1; against importation of "picture brides," 27 to 1.

3rd. It is urged that to enforce exclusion against the Japanese may produce friction and international complications.

That is not the plea of a good, red-blooded American. The question is: "Are we right in this matter, and is Japan wrong?" Canada and Australia and New Zealand say we are right, and Japan has tacitly acquiesced in the protective measures which those countries maintain. Our own experience with Japanese immigration under presumed restriction proves con-

clusively that the interests of the Nation demand exclusion. That being so, the true American will say frankly to Japan: "You see the facts; our people cannot assimilate. Continuation of existing conditions will make us enemies where we are now friends. Let us adopt the only possible means which will prevent such an unfortunate result."

If Japan insists on finding cause for friction in such a frank statement—why, this is a good time to learn that fact. Certainly it is the time to act in our own protection.

"Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, who returned recently from a visit to the Hawaiian Islands, where he had investigated the problem of Japanese immigration, said in a talk before the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco: (See Exhibit "S.") 'Put the boot on the other foot. Suppose 100,000 American laborers settled on one of Japan's small islands. Suppose they brought with them American customs, traditions, habits, and means of permanent establishment through propagation. Would this be tolerated by the Japanese government? The Japanese themselves admit that it would not.'

A Government Within a Government

The Cancerous Growth We Are Fostering—Its Organization, Object and Plans and the Inevitable Results if Not Checked—We Are Admitting and Giving Citizenship to Those Who Will Absorb Us in Peace and Oppose Us in War—Immediate and Absolute Exclusion the Only Remedy.

I cannot too strongly impress upon this country the evidence which is indisputable, and which steadily accumulates, that, through encouragement or tolerance of Japanese immigration we are developing in our midst an unassimilable alien community which has no sympathy with American institutions; out of which we cannot in any way and in any time mold American citizens; which is here simply for its own selfish purposes, and is a grave menace to Japan and the Mikado, who is its god; and that this alien community is al-

ready commencing to secure economic control of certain sections of the country.

Every utterance and every act of the Japanese, properly understood, points to their determination to develop the Japanese race in this country, and to create for them a position which cannot be attacked to make, in short, of this country in its entirety of Japan. They never discuss or consider the development of themselves or their children as American citizens who have severed all connections with Japan, but only as Japanese who

are establishing their race in a particularly favored land. It is for this end that they are openly urged by their speakers and writers, in district meetings and in newspaper editorials, to secure land and beget children. (See Exhibit "E.")

The three Pacific Coast States are generally designated by the Japanese as "New Japan." Florin, in Sacramento County, now a Japanese village and district, is called "Taisko-ku." Taisko is the name of the present Imperial family of Japan. The model Livingston colonies in Merced are called the Yamato Colonies. Yamato is one of the favorite names of the Japanese for their home land. The Imperial Valley is always called Tai Koku, a term employed in speaking of the Japanese Empire. Japan always changes the names of new territories annexed by her. Korea is Chosen (which was the ancient name); Formosa is Taiwan, etc. It would seem that they already regard the Pacific Coast as an outlying province.

Children are more frank than their elders, and they usually reflect the sentiments which they hear expressed by these elders. In the "Washington Farmer," June 24, W. S. Charles tells of the frequently expressed sentiment on the part of Japanese school boys in the Pacific Northwest, when they have physical differences with the American boys, to the effect that Japan will come over here some day and take possession of this country. Similar evidence appears in the statement of Mrs. J. M. MacClatchie of Berkeley—see Exhibit "U"—clipping from Sacramento Bee, July 23, 1929.

Japanese kultur is as insidious and much more dangerous than German kultur. The propaganda and the agencies which it employs, some of which were exposed by me in my previous hearing before the committee, are such that, at first, mention of them produces among the uninformed only incredulous smiles. And Japanese kultur is not making a mistake which German kultur made—it does not encourage, much less permit, the Japanese to become real American citizens.

Organization of the Japanese.

This alien community has an or-

ganization and practices: a degree of co-operation on which makes it invulnerable in certain matters, notwithstanding its comparatively small membership. The Japanese have their local associations, which are controlled by five district organizations centered at Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and Vancouver. They have in California 55 agricultural associations, each of which is affiliated with one of the three large central agricultural associations.

The district organization centered at San Francisco, is known as the Japanese Association of America and its jurisdiction covers the States of Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and all that portion of California north of Tehachapi. There are 39 local organizations affiliated with it.

The Japanese Association of America, the district organization located at San Francisco, while ostensibly an independent organization acting only in the interests of the individual Japanese in a certain district of the United States who swell its revenues, is really ruled by the Japanese Consul General at San Francisco for the glory of Japan and her illustrious ruler, the Mikado. That is not my statement, but the declaration of "Nichi Bei," the leading Japanese newspaper of San Francisco. There is offered as an exhibit (see Exhibit "P") a translation of an article, one of several of similar character which appeared in that newspaper, in which it openly charged that the Japanese Association is only the tool of the Consul General, operated from his office, and that he controls its executives and dictates their action.

The Japanese have boasted that through various influences they have "scotched" or delayed adverse legislation in Colorado and in Oregon. Their California journals have called attention to the fact that they are raising a fund of \$100,000, \$50,000 to come from Japan and the balance to be collected here, for the purpose of "persuading" the next California legislature against action adverse to Japanese interests here (see Exhibit "Q").

An investigation of the Japanese

communities in this State will convince this Committee that we are harboring a most dangerous character of alien Government within our Government; that this alien Government controls the education, the religion, the acts and the lives of the members of these resident communities; and the sacred privilege of American citizenship conferred on them by birth is of no value in inducing assimilation, but simply places in their hands a weapon which will be used against us in peaceful penetration, or in open warfare.

RECAPITULATION.

It will be agreed, I think, that the facts now before us conclusively establish that the Japanese are undesirable as immigrants, and as citizens, not because they are of an inferior race, but because they are superior in certain characteristics, which, if the issue were forced, would demonstrate the possession of this country between two unassimilable races.

The Japanese are unassimilable with our civilization and our people. Their racial characteristics would soon give them economic control of this country if they secure a foothold, and their natural increase would give them in time superior numbers to the whites. Under such conditions it would be national suicide to encourage or permit the Japanese to secure a foothold here.

The Gentlemen's Agreement, under which Japanese immigration is at present regulated, was a grave blunder. It has failed utterly to accomplish the purposes for which it was intended. In twenty years our Japanese population in continental United States has increased six-fold; and it is directly chargeable to the "Gentlemen's Agreement" that Japanese population in continental United States has multiplied three times and in California has multiplied four times.

It has been established that the Agreement is being constantly and deliberately violated. Admissions coming through the open ports under passports from Japan are largely in violation of the intent, if not the ac-

tual wording, of the Agreement, while there has been coming in over the border surreptitiously in violation of the Agreement, but certainly with the knowledge of Japan, a steadily increasing number.

It is certain that under either the Gentlemen's Agreement, or the proposed percentage immigration plan, an encouragement of further admission of Japanese means that the Japanese population in this country will so increase as to run into millions in a comparatively few years, and ultimately become so large as to dispossess the white race.

What has happened in Hawaii, which is apparently already lost to the United States and to the whites, is happening in certain localities in California. A continuance of these conditions will make the situation general throughout the favored portions of the United States. We are permitting to develop in our midst an alien, unassimilable community whose continued presence means international conflict, and whose growth without conflict, would mean the subjugation of this country.

In Exhibit "R" will be found an interview from the "Japan Advertiser" of Tokyo, May 7, 1929, with Dr. H. H. Powers, who has been a member of the faculties of the Universities of Stanford and Cornell for fifteen years, and who is the author of a number of books. Dr. Powers is frankly telling the people of Japan, through the "advertiser," that they are being misled in reference to this immigration question; that Mr. Frank Vanderlip wrongs both peoples when he holds out the hope that America will abandon her policy of exclusion towards the peoples of the Far East. I shall quote a small portion only of that interview:

"Unfortunately the Japanese would make more Americans at all. No race ever makes itself a part of another race except by intermarriage and physical fusion. That would not happen in the case of any Far Eastern race, or at least would not happen fast and soon enough to destroy the consciousness of race separateness. The Japanese would remain distinct,

They would rapidly displace our own more exacting race. As we felt ourselves to be losing ground, we should turn upon the aggressive race with bitterness and fury. That race would lean on the home country, and enlist its support.

"In a word, if we war between the two countries, that is the best way to get it. Keep the sea between us and we can be friends, very good friends; but, bring the two races together under conditions that ensure competition on unequal terms, and where the necessary fusion is not to be expected, and a bloody clash is inevitable. The American people feel this, though they do not wholly understand it. Their policy is the instinct of self-protection."

The Remedy.

To remedy the National situation which has thus been outlined, the State of California can do very little because of lack of authority. What she may do within her own borders, she is attempting to do, through an initiative measure, in closing up the loop holes which have been found to exist in her Alien Land Law, so that the Japanese will no longer be able to secure control of the rich agricultural lands in the State, either through ownership or lease. (See Exhibit "W.")

It is to be remembered that in the existing treaty with Japan there is no provision for extending to Japanese the right to own or lease agricultural lands, and that the present Alien Land Law forbids the amendment thereof to now being provided for by initiative, specifically guarantee to aliens ineligible to citizenship, as to the acquisition of ownership, occupation and disposition of agricultural lands, all the rights granted them by treaty, and not otherwise.

It is noted, too, that the plan outlined by California to prevent ownership or lease of agricultural lands by Japanese, against which there was such protest on the part of the Japanese, has already been embodied in a law passed by the Philippine Legislature and now effective with the formal or tacit approval of the President of the United States.

The effective remedy for the situation, in this country, must lie with the Federal Government, which made the original blunder and created the existing situation, and which alone has the power to provide the remedy. That remedy will probably have to come partly from the Executive Department because of the existing Gentlemen's Agreement, and the sea partly through Congress in adopting legislation.

What is necessary, apparently, on the part of the Japanese Government to remedy the existing situation is:

1st—A policy of absolute exclusion of the Japanese, either under a treaty or written agreement with Japan, or by act of Congress, as in the case of China. This should be as rigid in its terms as our Exclusion Law affecting the Chinese, and should forbid the importation, under any pretext, of women or wives of Japanese men whose right to reside in this country has been recognized. It has already been shown in this statement that the Japanese birth rate in California is three times that of the whites, though the Japanese men have only one woman to three or four men; that they have urged that they be permitted to import enough women to serve as wives for all the Japanese men; and that their speakers and newspapers have constantly urged the necessity of raising large families in order to keep the Japanese race permanently in this country.

2nd—Any necessary precautions to enforce such understanding by guarding against surreptitious entry.

3rd—Formal adoption of the clearly defined principle that Japanese and other unassimilable Asiatics shall never be admitted to citizenship by naturalization. To make exception to such a rule in favor of Japanese already here, as is now being urged, would be a grave blunder, establishing a precedent which would make for present complications with other Asiatic countries, and future friction with Japan—for the concession would be used here as an enter wedge. Aside from these considerations, it would be a National crime to confer citizenship on Japanese sat-

urated with the ideals and religion of Japan, and who came over here after reaching maturity. The evidence seems conclusive on that point.

4th—A modification of our present policy which permits dual citizenship and its grave consequences in the case of the Japanese. Apparently the latter can be done only by amendment to the Federal Constitution, confining citizenship by birth to those whose parents are eligible to such citizenship.

How to Apply the Remedy.

Exclusion can be accomplished under proposed bills in Congress by extending the boundaries of the zone in Asia from which immigration is barred, to include Japan. Action along these lines has been recommended by the Commissioner General of Immigration in his report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, at page 59, in the following language:

"The bureau respectfully suggests consideration of the extension of the barred zone to such parts of Asia as are not now included therein, nor affected by exclusion laws or agreements, and also to Africa and adjacent islands so as to exclude inhabitants who are of the unassimilable classes, or whose admission in any considerable number would tend to produce an economic menace to our population."

The immediate settlement of this very grave question along lines of exclusion is manifestly in the interests of both nations, since both nations wish to maintain, and will find it advantageous to maintain, friendly relations.

Apparently the leaders in Japan, as

well as those who have investigated the subject on behalf of the American people, find convincing proof that neither race is desirous of assimilating, even if it can assimilate. Under such conditions to maintain side by side, in this country two unassimilable races would be to invite friction and bring about conflict ultimately.

The effective remedy indicated in the four proposed measures outlined above should be applied, if possible, in such a manner as to avoid hurt to Japan's pride, and thereby prevent friction and possible international complications. That could be accomplished either by a treaty, or by the passage of identical laws by Japan and the United States under which each nation would decline to admit to its shores, either as immigrants or citizens, the nationals of the other, making, of course, due provision for officials, tourists, students, commercial men, etc.

Japan could offer no reasonable objection to such an arrangement, since she would be excluding from Japan the same classes which we desire to exclude from the United States, and she would be doing it presumably in the interests of her own people, as we would be doing it in the interests of ours. I commend to your committee careful consideration of this suggestion as a possible solution for this serious problem.

In Harmony With Previous Suggestions.

The five remedial measures suggested by me originally and afterwards adopted by the American

Legion in national convention, and by the several exclusion organizations of the Pacific Coast, would be sufficiently covered in the plan as now proposed. These five remedies appear at page 36, of "The Germany of Asia," and include (1) cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement; (2) stopping of "picture brides"; (3) future exclusion of Japanese with other Asiatics as immigrants; (4) formal recognition of the policy excluding unassimilable Asiatics from citizenship; and (5) amendment to the Constitution so that citizenship by birth will not be conferred on those whose parents are ineligible to such citizenship.

There was a sixth suggestion credited to me as to admission of Chinese labor in limited numbers for a limited time, under restriction as to locality of residence and occupation. I did offer that suggestion in the inception of the discussion, to meet the declaration that the interests of the Nation demanded introduction of some Oriental labor. That suggestion was withdrawn within two weeks, and I have since uniformly opposed it. The reason is that if we refuse admission to Japanese on the plea that our policy bars Asiatic labor generally, we cannot consistently admit Chinese. If more Oriental labor is really necessary to maintain or to increase production (which we are not prepared to admit) it is better to see production decrease somewhat than to permit and encourage the evils which must follow in the wake of Oriental immigration.

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